604 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the
429 same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance
885 of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit.: half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(d) Socialization

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to ooo

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not